

The Philanthropist

PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

JAMES G. BIRNEY AND

We are verily guilty concerning our brother . . . therefore is this distress come upon us.

GAMALIEL BAILEY, Jr., Editors.

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POETRY.

From the National Enquirer.

To the Editor.—Please insert the following beautiful article in the Enquirer, and oblige, A CONSTANT READER.

The Yankee Girl.

She sits by her wheel at that low cottage door,
Which the long evening shadow is stretching before,
With a music as sweet as the music which seems
Breathed softly and faint in the ear of our dreams.

How brilliant and mirthful the light of her eye,
Like a star peeping out from the blue of the sky.
And lightly and freely her dark tresses play,
O'er a brow and a bosom as lovely as they.

Who comes in his pride to that low cottage door?
'Tis the haughty and proud to the humble and poor,
'Tis the great Southern planter, the master who waves
His whip of dominion o'er hundreds of slaves!

Nay Ellen for shame, let those Yankee fools spin,
Who would pass for our slaves with a change of their skin.
Let them work as they will at the loom or the wheel,
Too haughty for shame and too vulgar to feel.

But thou art too lovely and precious a gem
To be bound to their burdens or sullied by them.
For shame Ellen, shame, cast thy bondage aside,
And away to the South as my blessing and pride.

Oh come where no winter thy footsteps can wrong,
But where flowers are blossoming all the year long
Where the palmetto's shadow is over my home,
And the lemon and orange wave white in their bloom.

Oh come to my home where my servants shall
Depart at thy bidding and come at thy call;
They shall heed thee as mistress with trembling and awe
And each wish of thy heart be felt as a law.

Oh could you have seen her, that pride of our girls,
Arise and cast back the dark wealth of her curls,
With a scorn in her eye which the gaze could feel,
And a glance like the sunshine that flashes on steel.

Go back haughty Southron, thy treasures of gold
Are dimmed by the blood of the hearts thou hast sold.
Thy home may be lovely, but round it I hear
The crack of the whip and the footsteps of fear.

And the sky of the South may be brighter than ours,
And greener thy landscape and fairer thy flowers.
But dearer the blast round our mountains which raves,
Than the sweet summer zephyr which breathes o'er slaves!

Full low at thy bidding thy negroes may kneel,
With the iron of bondage on spirit and heel,
Yet know that the Yankee girl sooner would be
In fetters with them than in freedom with thee.

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

CONGRESS.

To the Editors of the National Intelligencer.

GENTLEMEN: Having failed in numerous and pressing efforts (finally terminated by the previous question) to obtain the floor in the House of Representatives, on Saturday last, for the purpose of giving reasons for my negative votes on the two resolutions relative to the right of slaves to petition Congress, I feel impelled, by considerations peculiar to this case, and by the relation in which I stand to the question of slavery, to ask the privilege of briefly presenting to the Public, through your paper, the substance of what I intended to say on that occasion.

The first resolution, after reciting that Mr. Adams had inquired of the Speaker whether it would be in order to present a petition purporting to be from slaves, declares—
"That this House cannot receive the said petition, without disregarding its own dignity, the rights of a large class of citizens of the South and West, and the Constitution of the United States."

The resolution contains three propositions—

1. That in receiving the petition, the House would disregard its own dignity;
2. That it would disregard the rights of a large class of citizens of the South and West; and
3. That it would disregard the Constitution of the United States.

These several propositions, let it be observed, have respect to a petition, the purport of whose prayer is not stated, the preamble to the resolution containing not the slightest allusion to it whatever. In affirming the propositions, therefore, no reference was had to the question, whether the prayer of the petition was respectful or insulting, lawful or unlawful, proper or improper. The simple, naked fact, that it was signed by slaves, formed the foundation, and the only foundation for the propositions contained in the resolution. No matter if it were signed by slaves residing within the District over which Congress has exclusive jurisdiction, and whose legislation necessarily acts directly upon their rights; and no matter if it prayed even for protection from the exercise of the most excessive cruelty, for liberation from confinement by slave-dealers in the dungeons of the public prisons in this district, or for rescue from threatened transportation to, and sale in, a foreign country. No matter if it were for any, or for all of these objects; to receive it, the resolution affirms, would be disregarding the dignity of the House, the rights of a large class of citizens, and the Constitution of the United States.

Now, how would the dignity of the House be compromised by receiving a prayer for mercy and, I may add, for justice, as in the cases I have supposed, from a slave? What sort of legislative dignity is that, which shuts the door in the face of "a man and a brother," merely because

he is "in bonds"? Can there, on the contrary, be a spectacle more truly dignified than that of a legislative body bending its ear to the supplications of the poor, the helpless, and the oppressed? How beautifully and appropriately are mercy and justice illustrated, when neither wealth, nor power, nor patronage, comes in aid of the prayer for their exercise.

And how, in the next place, does the mere fact that a petition is from slaves render its reception a disregard of the rights of a large class of citizens at the South and West, and of the Constitution of the United States? If the citizens of the South and West, have, under the Constitution, rights in regard to their slaves, does it follow that they are without limit? and that, beyond that limit, whatever it may be, other rights may not exist? If the slave has no right to liberty, (I speak of a conventional right) has he none to supplicate that precious boon at the hands of any power which may rightfully grant it? And has he no right to life? none to exemption from excessive cruelty? and none to implore protection to the one, and security to the other? Is there no power on earth to which he may look for help in these extremities?

To "disregard," in any sense, applicable to this subject, the rights of the South and West, is to invade those rights; and can we invade them in the legitimate exercise of powers granted in the Constitution? That Constitution invests Congress with the power of exclusive legislation over this District. Does not that power necessarily involve the right and duty of hearing petitions from the governed, and from all the governed? Would it not be a very strange kind of Government which could not, or would not, hear such petitions?

If the hearing of petitions from the governed in the territories of the United States, consequently affects the interests of the South and West, is it a consequence of which the South and West have a right to complain? They were parties to the Constitution which created the exclusive government, and they must abide its consequences. Suppose the inhabitants of this District should continue to press Congress, as more than eleven hundred of them did in 1828 to abolish slavery and the slave trade within its limits; and should as in that petition, denounce, in severe and almost unmeasured terms, the enormities of both: would this be an invasion of the rights of the South and West, and a disregard of the Constitution? Did Congress evince such disregard in receiving that petition, and ordering it to be printed? And what is the difference in principle, so far as concerns this argument, between that case and the present? Eleven hundred free white citizens of this District besought Congress to abolish slavery and the slave trade within its limits; and pressed it by abolition arguments. Did not this tend, according to the argument of the opponents of the right of slave petition, to create uneasiness among the slaves in the South and West, and thus affect "the rights of a large class of citizens" in those sections of the country?

There is a great looseness in the reasoning which infers violations of the Constitution from possible and remote consequences of a particular course of legislation. Admit the soundness of the reasonings in this case, and shut the doors of Congress upon petitions from the bond and the free of this District, touching the subject of slavery, merely because of their remote tendency to the abolition of slavery in the States, (for that is the argument), and what shall we have next? Why, the doctrine that no State can abolish slavery within its limits, because, being a party with the other slave States, to the Constitution which recognizes the existence of slavery, and makes it the basis of representation, it cannot rightfully do any thing which shall tend to the abolition of slavery in the other States, and thereby deprive them of their slave representation in the Congress of the United States. This may now seem a very strained construction; but passion and interest have pushed sensible men to stranger absurdities than this.

The second resolution to which I have referred, declares—"That slaves do not possess the right of petition secured to the People of the United States by the Constitution."

What does this resolution mean? Does it mean merely that the guaranty of the right of petition to "the People," in the Constitution does not extend to slaves? For the sake of the argument, let it be admitted that it does not—that the assumption is correct (which has been made in the debate, but which I do not admit) that "the People," whose right of petition the Constitution declares shall not be abridged, means merely "We the People" who formed the Constitution, and not slaves. How does this admission affect the question? The existence of the right of petition, as has been often said in the debate, does not depend upon the guaranty of the Constitution. It is a right which is before and above all constitutional guaranties. It has its foundation in the dependencies inseparable from the social state. If the Constitution does not expressly guaranty it to slaves, neither, let it be remembered, does it take it from them. And shall I attempt, by my vote, to do what the framers of the Constitution did not think proper to do, in the formation of that instrument?

If it was intended by the resolution to assert merely that slaves have not the benefit of the constitutional guaranty of the right of petition, why was not the declaration made in language intelligible and unambiguous? Such language was avoided. The right of petition, and not the constitutional guaranty stands forward as the prominent subject of the resolution. The right is one thing—its guaranty another. The right is incident to all governments, instantly attaching to the relation of governor and governed, the moment that relation comes to exist. But it may, or it may not, be guarantied. If it is, that guaranty is a mere supervening incident to the right. And it is in this light that I regard the allusion to it in the resolution. The denial, by that resolution, of the right of petition, is not essentially affected by adding, that the right is one which has been secured to the People of the United States by the Constitution. It is, after all, the right of petition, in its great, original, essential qualities and incidents, which is really denied.

Stripped of its non-committal disguise, then, the resolution stands out neither more nor less than a broad denial of all right in slaves to petition. I will give no vote which can be even tortured into such denial.

Having said thus much, I owe it to myself to add that, whatever may be the right of the slave to petition, I am clear that no countenance should be given to any attempts to exercise it. Such attempts can do the slave no good.

From the nature of the case, his deliverance must arise from some other quarter. In the whole history of the abolition of the slave trade and slavery by Great Britain, I am not aware that the right of slaves to petition has ever been claimed or brought into question. And, if all the slaves in the land could be made to hear me, I would say to them, "Entertain not, for one moment, the thought of petitioning the Government for liberty, much less of making any effort to obtain it by force, unless you wish to put far off all hope of the deliverance of your race from bondage. Cultivate, rather, a quiet spirit. "Be patient." "Resist not evil." "Be obedient to your own masters; not answering again; not purloining; but showing all good fidelity, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward."

But why, I am asked, do you assert the right of the slave to petition, if his exercise of the right ought not to be countenanced? I answer, because the question has been forced upon me, and I must meet it. I would be the last to bring forward a resolution asserting the right for which I contend. But when I am called on, as in the present case, to say yes or no to a proposition which expressly denies that right, I must and will say no, and give my reasons for thus saying.

I will not give a vote which shall, even by the remotest implication, assert that my colored brother is property, and nothing but property; and that he has no more right to petition than a dog or a horse, and that he possesses, in fact, "no legal or constitutional rights whatever."

I have said that the deliverance of the slaves must arise from some other quarter than themselves. Let me not be misunderstood. The idea of an attempt by Congress to abolish slavery in the States of this Union has never, that I am aware, been entertained by any. No other deliverance is contemplated than that of voluntary emancipation by individuals, or abolition by force of legislation, acting within the sphere of its admitted jurisdiction. If the abolitionists have ever been understood at the South as entertaining views different from these, they have been greatly misrepresented. They entertain, however, the opinion that Congress possesses the power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and that the State Legislatures have like power in their respective States; and they seek, in the exercise of that freedom of speech and of the press which is guaranteed to them by the Constitution, to produce a public sentiment which shall, by its fair and legitimate influence, effect the legislation they so much desire.

They believe that "all men are created equal;" that they are endowed by their Creator with the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and that, to the Creator alone, belongs the high prerogative of holding property in man. Planting themselves on the broad basis of these truths, they assert that the assumption and exercise of that right by man, is among the highest wrongs which he can inflict upon his fellow-man. Their own deep conviction of this truth they seek to communicate to the minds of others—not to slaves, with whom they hold no intercourse, and whom, if they did, they would only admonish to patience and submission—but to their masters, to those communities in whose Legislatures resides the power to put an end, within their limits, to the wrongs of slavery, and furnish relief from its complicated evils. They look at slavery with some conception of what is comprehended in that word; and are amazed that philanthropy itself should have so long slept over the existence of such an evil; that, while other nations less free in their institutions than our own, have abolished it, we, who boast of our attachment to the principles of civil liberty, and our high regard for the inalienable rights of man, should still cherish it in our very bosom.

In their strong conceptions of the character and consequences of this evil, abolitionists have sometimes indulged in the indiscriminate use of harsh and severe personal epithets, to which I have felt a deep repugnance. With me, however, it has been a subject rather of regret than of severe censure; for, if strong feeling and strong language are ever to be excused, it is when they are excited and drawn forth in the sacred cause of human freedom. Let those denounce and recriminate who never themselves transgress the bounds of prudence, when they feel strongly in what they believe to be a good cause; and especially those who have never opposed or countenanced the opposing of mob power to the progress of free discussion. Most heartily do I disapprove of the indiscriminate use of such epithets as *man-stealers*, *robbers*, and *pirates*, on the one side, and *vile fanatics*, *incendiaries*, and *murderers*, on the other. For the abolitionists, however, I can say that language of vituperation is giving place to sober arguments, addressed to the reason and conscience and enlightened self-interest of the slave-holder; and I will hope that the intellect of the South will henceforth be employed in answering those arguments, rather than indulging in harsh and indiscriminate denunciations of those who urge them.

Permit me to close this communication with the following resolutions, which I find among those adopted by the late Anti-Slavery Convention of the State of Pennsylvania:

"Resolved, That in Christian meekness we intend to maintain the right of exhorting those who uphold an institution so evidently unjust as that of slavery, to examine its operations upon all classes of the community, both individually and collectively, confident that if they do so with unprejudiced minds and sincere motives, they will be convinced of its deep sinfulness, and thus be prepared to commence, immediately, the great work of freeing themselves and their country from its paralyzing influences."

"Resolved, That the Convention recommend to the colored people of this State to maintain a peaceful and moral deportment in all the departments in life in which they may be placed; that they may be instrumental in delivering their oppressed brethren from bondage, and refute the calumnies of those who say they cannot be elevated in character in these United States."

"Resolved, That we earnestly recommend to the colored people, both bond and free, to endeavor to fulfil all their moral, social, and religious duties, and thus show to the world that they deserve to be free."

Here is abolitionism, sound in principle, chastened in feeling, and pure in spirit. My judgment and my heart approve it.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM SLADE.

Washington, Feb. 15, 1837.

COLONIZATION.

Prejudice no Good Reason for Colonization.

The object of the following pages is to lead the reader to a calm and thorough review of the subject of colonization. Perhaps he thinks it sufficiently discussed already; but where the interests of millions are at stake, it becomes us carefully to examine, and often to re-examine, the foundations of our opinions,—the friends of Truth will never be afraid to do this.

Let us first look at colonization in general—the idea, doctrine, theory, that it would be better for both the whites and blacks of our country, were the latter to be transplanted into a separate community.—Why better? Is there not room enough for both? Yes. Is there not work enough for both? Yes. Is not colonization from our country reversing the order of nature? Yes. The demand for labor among us is *drawing in* laborers, by right or by wrong, from all parts of the old world. Strong, then, must be the reasons to justify us in sending out our own native laborers to the old world or elsewhere. If we have any surplus population, it must be of merchants, lawyers, physicians, divines—and surely not of what is called the laboring class, to which all, or nearly all, the colored people belong—of this class there cannot be a surplus for a hundred years to come. The influx of foreign laborers into our country shows, as clearly as running water shows downhill, that ours is the country of all the world, where labor gets, or is supposed to get, the best reward,—and that laboring people are better off here than elsewhere. Why send any away? Some profess to find a reason in the prejudice and oppression of which the blacks are the victims. It is because the colored man must here be always enslaved, or in a condition but little better than slavery. Because he must be an outcast from our free institutions, from our national sympathies, from our social relations. Because here he must be taught at elections,—in schools and colleges,—in stages and steam-boats,—in the house of man, and in the house of God,—that he belongs to an inferior race,—that he cannot, must not, shall not, rise to the level of the whites.—We implore the reader to stop and think. Is there any *must*—any necessity—in any of these things?

When was human prejudice embalmed, eternized, and stamped with immutability? The prejudices of one man can be changed; the prejudices of thousands, on this very subject, have been—what shall hinder the change of millions? When was the overthrow of this prejudice by truth and reason fairly attempted, and where is the failure recorded? The invincibility of prejudice should have been clearly ascertained, and evinced by incontrovertible proofs, before it was proposed to expatriate millions on account of it. It ought to have been perceived by the founders of the colonization enterprise, that their remedy was one of last resort, desperate in its nature—one which could not be carried into effect without great danger of enhancing the disease. Indeed, it would seem hardly to be possible to propose the removal of a certain class beyond the reach of a prejudice, without increasing, by this very act, the prejudice which is thus deferred to and humored. Yet we find the American Colonization Society have actually taken this point for granted. In their Fifteenth Annual Report, the Managers say, "Causes beyond the control of human will must prevent their ever rising to equality with the whites."—The Managers consider it clear, that causes exist, and are operating, to prevent their improvement and elevation to any considerable extent, as a class, in this country, which are fixed, not only beyond the control of the friends of humanity, BUT OF ANY HUMAN POWER. Christianity cannot do for them here, what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the colored man, nor of the white man, nor of Christianity: but an ordination of Providence, and no more to be changed than the laws of nature. Yet, were it otherwise,—did no cause exist but prejudice, to prevent the elevation, in this country, of our free colored population, still, were this prejudice so strong (which is indeed the fact) as to forbid the hope of any great favorable change in their condition, what folly for them to reject blessings in another land, because it is prejudice that debars them from such blessings in this? But in truth no legislation, no humanity, no benevolence, can make them insensible to their past condition, cannot unfetter their minds, can relieve them from the disadvantages resulting from inferior means and attainments, cannot abridge the right of freemen to regulate their social intercourse and relations, which will leave them forever a separate and depressed class in the community; in fine, nothing can in any way do much here to raise them from their miseries to respectability, honor, and usefulness." We think all will agree that the Colonization Managers here assume the invincibility of prejudice. They present no proof, nor do we find elsewhere any attempt to present proof. The very fact that such men have assumed a position so vitally important to their cause, shows that they did not find it susceptible of proof—and yet it is very far from being self-evident. We appeal to stubborn facts to show that it is altogether false. Thousands of our fellow citizens have been cured of this prejudice, and are sincerely wishing that their colored brethren should dwell in the land on equal terms with themselves. And on the other hand, there are not a few colored men *have risen*, in spite of all opposition—call it "ordination of Providence," or what you will—in all substantial enjoyments, in mind and morals, in things outward and inward, above the average level of the whites. How often have we heard it said of such and such a man (whose name it would be invidious to mention), "he would be a governor in Liberia." Hence we conclude that prejudice is no good reason for colonization, because prejudice is vincibile, and ought to be conquered.

EMANCIPATION.

West India Facts—Highly Important.

From recent West India papers we make the following extracts. Look at the state of things in Martinique! Do slaves love liberty, think you? Look at the churches and schools. Have slaves heads, hearts, souls? Is emancipa-

tion, yes, immediate emancipation, safe!—Hu. Rights. From the Antigua Messenger, Jan. 27, 1837.

Barbadoes.

Our readers are generally aware that the French officer who arrived here recently, in a brig of war, and made a stay of several days, is on a tour through some of the British West India Colonies, with a view of ascertaining the working of the apprenticeship. We believe he has availed himself of none but official sources of information, and of course we can only conjecture what report he is likely to make to his government.

If he had asked our humble opinion, we should have informed him that we consider the condition of this island most satisfactory, so far as relates to the peaceable deportment and industry of the apprentices, and to the successful cultivation of the estates; but that Barbadoes cannot illustrate the moral and economical results of the general emancipation of a slave community, except that the present value of property proves that a confident belief is entertained, by those best qualified to judge, that the staple cultivation of the island will be carried on with success, after 1840, under a system of perfect freedom.

It was not a vain anticipation, that the English abolition bill would prove a death-blow to slavery throughout the western world; and may we not add, to that which exists in our own East India possessions, where there is at the present moment a large body of agricultural slaves in the utmost state of degradation.

The French government are closely and anxiously watching the great transition now in progress in our colonies. We hope they will not only follow our example but improve upon it. There are in the English measure of emancipation one or two unhappy blunders, the evil effects of which will not be expended for many years to come.

It depends upon the Metropolitan government whether the crisis, which is evidently approaching in the French islands, shall issue in peace, prosperity, and safety, or in general bankruptcy, ruin, and perhaps in bloodshed. The present moment is favorable for a great change, because the minds of all classes are in a state of preparation for it, whilst the uncertain aspect of the future exerts a ruinous and depressing influence upon trade and property.

A gentleman who has recently visited Martinique, (and we have similar information respecting Guadeloupe,) informs us that no doubt is entertained there, that the slaves will be emancipated; but the great question is, will there be any compensation? Such is the alarm felt on this subject, that the price of able-bodied young male negroes, when sold at auction, has fallen from 300 to 60 to 80 dollars. There is a general depression of trade, and the oppressive burden of heavy taxes is severely felt.

The colony is like a house divided against itself. About 400 of the most respectable persons of color, most of them proprietors of houses and domestic slaves, and some of them of sugar plantations, have petitioned the French Chambers for "immediate abolition."

The discipline of the estates, and the general treatment of the slaves, is much less severe than before the English emancipation. The military force has been increased.

The colony is tranquil, but it is more than probable that it owes its tranquility to the general impression on the minds of the slaves, that they will shortly be made free; and on the other hand, there appears to be no obstacle whatever to their emancipation, except an apprehension that free labor will be too dear. The question is a purely economical one: it is not whether estates can be cultivated, but whether they can be cultivated as cheaply.

The occasional escape of slaves to the British islands is a source of great annoyance and irritation, and though their flight has been checked for a time, by a large military force picketted in parties of five or six men all over the island, and by a numerous fleet of guarda costas yet, take away the hope of freedom, and they will make their escape in despite of every precaution; and whether they drown in the attempt, or reach the destined haven, the loss is the same to their masters and the colony.

The nearest distance from land to land of Martinique, from Dominica on the one side and St. Lucia on the other, is only twenty miles, and the most recent parties have ventured across in miserable rafts of a few boards or planks, nailed together, and of 3000 slaves in the whole, who have disappeared from Martinique, only 1200 can be accounted for as having ever reached the British Islands—so that, it appears that nearly two thirds perish in the desperate attempt. These slaves it must be remembered are chiefly men, and of the most robust of the people, so that the actual loss to the colony is much greater than is at first apparent.

By way of preventing so great an evil the colony is burdened with the expense of maintaining 2000 French soldiers and gens d'armes and numerous guarda costas, at a cost which cannot be enumerated at less than £100,000 sterling per annum.—New Times, Jan. 25.

Hayti.

Extract of a letter to the Editor from Dr. W. G. SMITH, a Haytian, formerly of the United States, dated

PORT AU PRINCE, 20th Nov. 1836.

Hayti is a lovely country—nothing in the United States, either in climate, soil or topography, can bear a comparison. Your scenery of the highlands on the North river and of the Alleghany ridges, &c., are comparatively inferior to our mountain perspectives. Providence has done every thing for this island, but many things are yet to be done by man, in converting the natural and abundant resources by which he is surrounded, into the wealth of the country and his own profit. Our population has rapidly increased since the revolution—it is about nine hundred thousand souls; the character of the Haytians is particularly docile and orderly; no people can be more easily governed than they are, and they are more indolent than the Europeans, they are less vicious and more friendly. The increase of population speaks loudly in favor of the advantage of a free state over that of slavery, and while the facility with which these people are controlled is creditable to the character of the black races generally, it is certain there is not one of the new American republics, your U. S. excepted, that can in any degree be compared with Hayti, either on the score of moral rectitude, respect for individual property, the administration of justice, or the peaceful disposition of the populace at large. We are poor, yet poor, but neither Mexico nor Columbia is richer, though

both of them are nearer the golden region than we are. They are perpetually warring with and against themselves—we are in perfect peace and always disposed to act up to the spirit of our national motto, "union gives power." In the South American States the citizens go armed to the teeth and about the country for personal defence; in Hayti precautions are not necessary. In Europe and the U. States more heinous crimes and murders are committed in a week than have been known to occur here since the French have been driven out. No comparison can be drawn between this republic and the United States, either in respect to political and civil institutions, or in regard to the moral condition of the population of the two countries, because their original states never bore any resemblance, nor were their moral and political rank alike. One were a people of slaves, perfectly ignorant of civil and religious laws, humbled to the last degree that human nature was capable of, and encouraged by the policy of their tyrant masters to believe in the African feticherie and repose their faith for all that concerned eternity on the doctrine of charms. Not so with the other, for although the U. States were colonies of Great Britain, they enjoyed the rights and privileges of the most favored of the British dependencies. They had their schools and colleges chartered even by the king, and their youth were educated. England established for America all her institutions, and after she threw off the colonial yoke, she had only to modify and continue things in operation as they were left by the administration of the mother country. Nor can it be denied that the rank the United States now holds among nations, and which she promises to hold hereafter, is attributable to the first impulse she received from that empire and her continued intercourse with the British people. The case is and always was different with Hayti. She had to create every thing, and to form a government from her own materials, which until that moment, were thought not to exist. And, besides contending against the prejudices and injustice of her neighbors, she was obliged to battle with other difficulties at home, unknown to less unfortunate countries.

Prejudice against Color.

Dr. Smith speaks of the abominable prejudice of caste and the evils which it tends to produce. "In those free states, the colored man is but nominally free: he is still a slave and obliged to bow to prejudice which from its influence on his moral being, is hardly less horrid than Southern bondage. He is not represented, or legally protected from outrages upon his person or property. Neither in New York nor any other free state would the most intelligent and respectable of them be appointed to the office of a common hangman, because, vile as that station is, there is attached to it a kind of base authority, with which a black man must not aspire to be invested. I have myself seen written over the door of a certain museum, *for public amusement in Broadway, these words: 'NO ADMISSION HERE FOR DOGS OR NEGROES.'*" And I have seen more than once a cat shut up in a room, assailed with sticks and other deadly weapons, which endeavored to escape, but having in vain attempted every outlet, fell back upon his assailers and in desperation, gave successful battle. Now, shall we expect to find more in the common instinct of a cat or a rat, than in the intelligence of a man. Under existing circumstances, what would be the consequence to the United States, if to-morrow an enemy should land on any point of her slave-holding districts and proclaim freedom and equal rights to her slaves and colored population? Is it not to be supposed, that the weight of two millions and a half or three millions would preponderate vastly against her? But she has also others whom she has compelled to hate her—her Indian tribes—her neighbors to the North and some others, not a great distance from her Florida, all of whom might be induced to add to the combustible materials, which she herself may yet ignite. Sir, although the Americans have compelled every man of color, whatever may be his disposition, his language, or his nation, and under every circumstance, to be their inveterate enemy, I, individually, have reason to be grateful and friendly to many of your countrymen. I beg you, therefore, to excuse the spirit of this letter. I have written to you as to one already convinced of the justice of all I have said, and disposed to promote a more favorable state of things for the future welfare of your native land and the good of humanity. Very respectfully,
Your most obedient servant,
W. G. SMITH.

A NEW DIFFICULTY ATTENDING THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.—The great question, which is continually urged upon abolitionists, by sensible and decent opponents at the North, is this: "What are you going to do with them?" To this our answer has always been the same, and to us the very obvious one, Let them work, as they now do, only for wages instead of compulsion. "But there are so many of them, that it will be impossible they should obtain employment." To which we reply, On the contrary, our country is so large and the products so rich, that it will be impossible, for a century to come, to find men enough to perform the labor which the country requires. "But if the labor of one freeman is equal to that of three slaves, and if the requisite amount of labor at the South is actually performed by slaves, then, by emancipation two-thirds of the laboring hands will be unemployed, and we must resort to colonization, after all." To which we reply, that the surplus of labor will all be required, to meet the increased wants of the new state of society. And this leads to remark on a fallacy which deceives many. Because some of the West India Islands have exported a little less sugar in consequence of the abolition of slavery, it is inferred that the consequence of the abolition of slavery, is that there will be so much less labor performed than before. But there is so much less labor performed, that while slavery continues, the whole laboring force is employed in raising the sugar, subtracting the smallest possible amount for the support and comfort of the laborers. Whereas, a very large amount of labor is expended by all free laborers in promoting the comfort and improvement of themselves and their families, their houses, clothing, food, education, &c. And the experience of the West Indies, where the population is much more dense than in this country, confirms these remarks. In the island of Jamaica, the want of more laborers has already excited serious alarm. And while we here in America, where abolition has not been tried, are trying to make arrangements to colonize to Africa, the people in Jamaica are seriously speculating on the means of colonizing from Africa, and endeavoring to prepare the minds of the government for a renewal of the slave-trade, under another name. The following is from the Commercial Advertiser, giving a summary of news from Jamaica:

The leading article of the latest Post is on the subject of immigration, and states the following facts: that the want of population is a serious evil to the British colonial possessions in the West Indies; that the scheme of introducing European emigrants into Jamaica has proved a failure; that Europeans cannot labor in that climate, or withstand its fatal influence upon the Constitution;

and that the laboring population must be increased and kept up by immigration from Africa, or the island must decline in prosperity.

JAMAICA.—One effect of the abolition of slavery in the West Indies has been to relieve the British government from the necessity of keeping a strong European force in the islands, at a great waste of human life, their places being now gradually supplied with black troops. A late Jamaica paper has the following article:—

TROOPS IN THE WEST INDIES.—The augmentation of the 1st West India Regiment, from 639 to a 100 rank and file, has enabled the government to withdraw two regiments from the forces in the Leeward Colonies, thereby considerably reducing the expenditure for our troops in that part of the world, and diminishing the casualties among our European soldiers. It is now proposed to garrison with the 1st West Indian Regiment those stations that have proved most destructive to white troops, such as Barbice, Tobago, St. Lucia, and Dominica.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, APRIL 7, 1837.

Cincinnati Anti-Slavery Society.

A meeting of this Society will be held at 7 o'clock this evening, at the residence of Dr. COLBY, on Broadway. A Lecture will be given, delegates appointed to the coming Anniversary, and officers elected for the ensuing year. We earnestly request that all of our friends shall be punctual in their attendance and bring others along with them.

First Report of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society.—Wanted at the Depository in Cincinnati, One Hundred copies of the last year's Report.

Societies having them on hand can send them to Mt. Pleasant on the 27th inst.

Indictment and Trial of James G. Birney.

Our readers have seen in the last two numbers of the Philanthropist our own account, as well as that of the Slavery press here, of the case of the colored woman Matilda. A few days after she was consigned to slavery, the regular term of the Criminal Court for this county commenced. During the first week, a Bill of Indictment was preferred by the prosecuting attorney, Major Read, and returned into Court, against the senior editor, on the following clause of a law of 1804:—

"If any person or persons shall harbor or secret any black or mulatto person, the property of any person whatever, or shall in anywise hinder or prevent the lawful owner or owners from retaking and possessing his or her black or mulatto servant or servants, he shall, upon conviction thereof, by indictment or information, be fined any sum not less than ten, nor more than fifty dollars, at the discretion of the Court, one half thereof for the use of the informer, and the other half for the use of the State."

This law we have been informed, has, till now, been considered as a dead letter. This is, perhaps, the first instance in which it has been attempted to be enforced. The evidence was chiefly of the domiciliary-inquisitorial kind. The two eldest sons of the defendant were questioned generally as to the conversations that were held in the family in relation to its domestic matters, so far as the servant, Matilda, was concerned. This is not mentioned to make the impression, that the prosecuting attorney took any measure of undue rigor to make out his case, but to show the odiousness of the law which establishes an inquisition into the domestic or household affairs of the citizens.

The prosecution failed, as we think, entirely in the proof of two points, charged by the Court as essential:—the residence in another state of the owner of Matilda, and the fact of the ownership. Notwithstanding, the jury after sometime returned a verdict of *guilty* on the first Count alone—which charged the offence simply in the words of the statute without any averment of knowledge, on the part of the defendant, that the woman was the property of any one, &c.

The prosecution was conducted by Major Read, Mr. McLean, and Gen. Lytle. After several ineffectual attempts on the part of the defendant's counsel, Messrs. Chase and Starr, to agree with the prosecutor on a special verdict, which would present the important constitutional questions arising in the case—in order, that they might be taken up to the Sup. Court for its decision—the argument was opened by Major Read. After he had closed, Mr. Starr addressed a few remarks to the Court, on the legal aspect of the case. Gen. Lytle replied. His remarks seem to have been intended rather for the jury than the Court, although addressed to the latter. The defendant was then permitted to reply to Gen. L., which he did in remarks occupying perhaps three quarters of an hour. The argument was concluded by another speech from Gen. L.

We would say nothing about the character of the speeches or the prosecuting counsel, were we alone concerned or personally injured by them. They were grossly violent and abusive, displaying the profoundest ignorance of abolitionism, with which they were chiefly concerned. But so far as the defendant was concerned, he can no more think of feeling angry at Major Read and Gen. Lytle, than he would at a pair of wooden cuckoos, if he uttered the sound for which they were made, or at a brace of parrots, taught by their owners to rail at him as he passes the streets. The bombastic turn, so styled of these speeches would have been ludicrous enough, had it not been for the connexion they have with the movement of the slavery-party. They were indeed "outrageous, extensive and perpendicular." Gen. Lytle not only justified the mob that tore down and destroyed the press in this city last summer, but said openly and unequivocally, that popular impulse was superior to all law—it made the supreme law. He said, he spoke advisedly, when he told the defendant, a greater destruction was preparing for him, than any that had yet been seen. Much more of the same incendiary matter was thrown off by this gentleman.

Now, in all this, we do not believe that Gen. Lytle had a particle of animosity against the defendant personally—but he is a partizan, and a most inflamed one of an administration that has declared, that on a particular question of policy a slave-holding minority shall forever rule a free state majority. His course, we apprehend, is directed by party feelings entirely. The party for which he is no mean drudge, are pledged to overthrow the republican principle, that the majority of the people, according to constitutional forms of their own creation, shall govern.

During the progress of the trial, points were reserved, that will bring up, before the Sup. Court, to which the case will be taken, the whole question of the constitutionality of the Act itself, and virtually of the other oppressive acts against the colored citizens of this State. We cannot entertain a doubt, that this whole class of legislative acts will be found to be unconstitutional.

Judge Este's charge to the jury as to the facts and law

of the case itself, independently of its relation to the Constitution, was altogether unexceptionable. While we take this opportunity of testifying to the dignity and urbanity with which he presided, we shall examine his opinions on the bearing of our Constitution on a point on which he charged the jury. For this purpose we re-publish the following article taken from the Cincinnati Gazette of Wednesday morning.

From the Cincinnati Daily Gazette.

MR. HANFORD.—Being present a few days ago in the Court House, when Judge Este was charging the jury in the case of the State against Mr. Birney, I gave particular attention to what he said on the Constitutional question, lately discussed in the Gazette.—Is a slave, brought into Ohio by the master, free? I give below what I understood to be the effect of the charge, with some reasons for dissenting from part of it.

If slaves, said Judge E., are brought into this State by the master, whose main object in doing so, is not a passage through the state; if he intend to abide with them here, and to employ them in services unconnected with and unnecessary to their transition through the State, however short the period, the Constitution of Ohio makes them free. It is the *animus morandi*—the intention to abide here, on the part of the master, and to use, during such abiding, the slave in servile offices, that makes the latter free under our Constitution. This principle would, I apprehend, include the case of visitors to this State, who bring slaves with them, and board, even for a short time, at our hotels or boarding houses or among their friends and connexions. Also, the case of slaves sent over from Kentucky to this city, to attend our market for the purpose of selling or purchasing.

On the other hand Judge Este said,—where a master brings slaves into this State, having for his object a passage through it; or, should he find it necessary, in descending the Ohio, to stop with his slaves, within our limits, for refreshment, or repairs, or supplies, or indeed, for any purpose necessary or auxiliary to his migration, he might do so, and the condition of his slaves would not be affected by our constitution. In support of this position, Judge E. cited the following passage from Vattel, as quoted in a decision of Judge Mills of Kentucky:—"The property of an individual does not cease to belong to him, on account of his being in a foreign country, and it is still a part of the totality of the wealth of his nation. The pretensions which the lord of the territory might form in respect to the wealth of a foreigner, would be then equally contrary to the rights of the proprietor, and to those of the nation to which he belongs."

This rule is unobjectionable—being founded in reason and humanity. But, I apprehend, at the present day, it has no application to slaves as property. Judge E. cited it as part of the law of nations prevailing throughout the civilized world, as applying to property in men as well as things. In this, I think, he was mistaken. There is not a nation in Europe that, within its own limits, recognizes, as between foreigners, the property of one human being in another. There is not a nation in Europe where, if two foreigners, one a black the other a white, were to land, the black men might not as well set up his claim to the person of the white man, as the white man to the person of the black man. Great Britain carries this doctrine to a greater extent. If a fugitive from slavery, in any manner, succeed in getting on board one of her national vessels, he becomes instantly and unconditionally free. At the conclusion of the last war, and after a certified copy of our treaty with G. Britain had been presented to Admiral Cockburn, and recognised by him, he utterly refused to redeliver to the planters of Georgia a single one of their numerous slaves who had run away from the plantations and found a refuge on board the English fleet. Three small vessels of light draught were crowded with such slaves. They lay in our waters, between Cumberland Island and the mainland of Georgia. When the Commissioners, (in whose company the writer of this note was) reclaimed the fugitive slaves as property within our waters under the treaty, Admiral C. replied he could not compel one of them to return, for "wherever his Majesty's flag waved, there was liberty!" That these same slaves were afterwards paid for by the British Government, shows in still stronger light, how scrupulously it regards the liberty of all men within its jurisdiction. Since the decision in Somerset's case, by Lord Mansfield, the notion of property in human beings has been giving way. It may now be said to be entirely exploded, as constituting the basis of obligation on the part of one nation to respect the property of the subjects of another nation, within her limits.

But does the law of nations apply between the States of this Union? I think not; and I believe, it has been judiciously so decided. But even if it did, would not its provisions yield to the terms of an express contract entered into by them in relation to any subject about which they have chosen to contract? If the law of nations would require, as a general thing, that all slaves under whatever circumstances they might be found in one State, should be redelivered to their masters in another—would not I say, such a regulation be superseded by a stipulation, stating, with singular precision, the only circumstances under which they should be redelivered? There can be but one answer: it would. The law of nations then—admitting its original validity among the states—has been superseded in its general provisions, as to the re-delivering of slaves, by our express arrangement, stating that they shall be re-delivered when they have "escaped" from one state into another—thus excluding every other case.

But repeating my admission of the original validity of the law of nations among the States—would country require that one state, the equal of any other state, should permit those who are not citizens to possess and enjoy rights that are utterly forbidden to her own citizens? Surely not. A request of this kind, from strangers, would be justly deemed insulting to the State of which it was made.

Does comity require that a practice be tolerated in strangers which is in direct hostility to the principles of the Government where it is sought to be set up? By no means. So far from it, (as we are told by Chancellor Kent,) "if any Government deems the introduction of foreigners, or their merchandise, injurious to the interests of their own people, they are at liberty to withhold the indulgence. The entry of foreigners and their effects is not an absolute right, but only one of imperfect obligation; and it is subject to the discretion of the Government which tolerates it." With this principle before us, and with a full knowledge that the entry among us of slaveholders, with their slaves, is fast eating away a proper regard among our own citizens, for the great and essential principles of liberty asserted in our Constitution—can any thing be more clear than the wisdom of "withholding the indulgence?"

Further—"any government may withhold the indulgence"—it is at the discretion of the Government which tolerates it." Now, if this be so, what language could have been adopted more unequivocal, for recalling and

"withholding" it, than the proclamation in our Constitution, that slavery shall never exist here. It is a declaration to all People and States, that cannot be misunderstood. It is useless to disguise it—it is the corruption of the spirit of liberty among us; or, as Governor Ritner so forcibly expresses it, a "base bowing of the knee to slavery" that has made it inefficacious.

If it be, then, that the Constitution of the United States, which provides only for the case of a slave "escaping" from another state into this, does not embrace the one under consideration; and that the laws of nations have no application to the States of this Union in their mutual intercourse; and if they had, that they would not require of us the permission to strangers of any practice, at war with the declared principles of the government—how can the decision of our courts, point blank in the face of the Constitution, as the plainest man in the State may see, be justified? It cannot be done. The weakness of our colored citizens which should have made us more careful of their rights, and the strength of the slave-holders which should have made us more jealous of their encroachments, have persuaded us to judgments practically overthrowing our own constitutional principles.

I will offer a test, that I think a decisive one. The Constitution declares in effect, that slavery shall not exist here at all. The legislature pass an act declaring, that, if a slaveholder wish, for his convenience, to pass through the State, however leisurely, that slavery may exist here for one month, or two months, or three months more, as the exigencies of the slave holder may demand. Can any one fail to see, that there is downright opposition here? Could any judge, if called on to decide, as to the constitutionality of such an act of the Legislature, say, it was otherwise than unconstitutional and void? It is too plain a case, I think to admit of a doubt. Yet have a few of our justices of the peace, whose partiality to slave-claimants secured to them all their cases, bro't the whole community practically under the operation of such a law.

The consequences of departing from the plain principles of the Constitution have been just what ought to have been anticipated. Slave-holders, believing that they could reclaim and retake their slaves who might leave them here under any circumstances, have been emboldened to bring them among us in great numbers. On the other hand, the slaves seeing around them the liberty enjoyed by the colored people in Ohio, and always thirsting for freedom themselves, are easily led, in the hope of obtaining it, to venture on the enterprise of escaping—when they have nothing more to suffer from its failure, than a severe flogging, or a change of owner, or degradation from a menial services to those of the field. We have introduced the present shameful system of man-hunting and kidnapping every where through our State in consequence, as I verily believe, of having departed from our own principles. The sooner we return to them the better. This, I trust, we will do on the adjudication of the case that has given rise to these remarks, in the Supreme Court of the State, to which tribunal, I understand, it is to be finally submitted.

A LAWYER.

"The Constitution is the act of the people speaking in their original character, and defining the permanent conditions of the social alliance; and there can be no doubt on the point with us, that every act of the legislative power, contrary to the true intent and meaning of the Constitution is absolutely null and void."

Chancellor Kent.

From the Liberator.

Massachusetts erect—Right of Petition Vindicated—Southern Despotism rebuked.

Among the proudest days in the existence of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts will be ranked, in all coming time, Tuesday last, the 21st inst. The record of it will illumine the page of history. The Representatives of the People of this State have nobly vindicated the Right of Petition, and put the brand upon Southern Slavery as an outrage upon the Rights of Man and the Government of God. In declaring, as they have done, ALMOST UNANIMOUSLY, that slavery is "a great social, moral and political evil," they have put it, root and branch, beyond the pale of toleration, and the possibility of reform. In asserting anew, the good old-fashioned doctrine, that man possesses 'inherent, absolute and inalienable rights,' they have proclaimed liberty to the cap-tivity throughout the land. In repudiating the resolution of Congress of 18th Jan. last, respecting anti-slavery memorials, as "a virtual denial of the right of petition," they have sounded a tocsin of alarm, that will be heard even on the summits of the Rocky Mountains. In declaring that Congress has the right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, they have thrown upon that body, and upon the people of the free States, the awful responsibility of a system full of pollution and blood, of robbery and oppression.

In the House of Representatives of this State, on Tuesday last, the following Preamble and Resolutions, (reported by a Committee,) after a short discussion—which we shall report and comment upon next week—were adopted—AYES, THREE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-EIGHT—NOES, 16!

"Whereas, the House of Representatives of the United States, in the month of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, did adopt a resolution, whereby it was ordered, that all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to the subject of Slavery, or the Abolition of slavery, without being either printed or referred, should be laid upon the table, and that no further action whatever should be had thereon, and whereas such a disposition of petitions, then or thereafter to be received, is a virtual DENIAL OF THE RIGHT ITSELF; and whereas, by the resolution aforesaid, which is adopted as a standing rule of the present House of Representatives, the petitions of a large number of the people of this Commonwealth, praying for the removal of A GREAT SOCIAL, MORAL AND POLITICAL EVIL, have been slighted and contemned; therefore:

"Resolved, That the resolution above named is an assumption of power and authority, at variance with the spirit and intent of the Constitution of the United States, and injurious to the cause of freedom and free institutions; that it does violence to the inherent, absolute and inalienable rights of man; and that it tends essentially to impair those fundamental principles of natural justice and natural law, which are antecedent to any written constitutions of government, independent of them all, and essential to the security of freedom in a State."

"Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress, in maintaining and advocating the full right of petition, have entitled themselves to the cordial approbation of the people of this Commonwealth."

"Resolved, That Congress, having exclusive legislation in the District of Columbia, POSSESS THE RIGHT TO ABOLISH SLAVERY IN SAID DISTRICT."

and that its exercise should only be restrained by a regard to the public good.

For the Committee.
ARTEMAS LEE, Chairman."

We rejoice to see the old Bay State throwing the weight of its influence on the side of free principles; Her example will doubtless be followed by other states; and indeed it is high time for every free state to assume a decided stand in opposition to the inroad of the slaveholding spirit. Free principles must triumph in America. We have little doubt, that when the first burst of antagonist feeling occasioned by blind sympathy for the slaveholder shall have subsided. The mass of the people in the free states will rally with enthusiasm around their free institutions, and love freedom the more, because in an unlucky hour they had stooped to look on slavery without just abhorrence.—Eda. Phil.

New Jersey—Right of Trial by Jury.

It will be recollected by many of our readers, that in number 28 of the Philanthropist, we published an account of an interesting slave-case, in New Jersey, reported originally for the Philadelphia Friend.

The case came up before the late Supreme Court at Trenton, Chief Justice Hornblower presiding; the following legal points were decided.

1. That every person in New Jersey was entitled to a trial by Jury.

2. That color was no longer presumptive evidence of Slavery in New Jersey.

In an extract of a letter written by one of the Counsel employed in behalf of the negroes, it is said, that the court, although not feeling themselves called on to decide with regard to the constitutionality of the act of Congress for the apprehension of fugitives from labor, evidently entertained the opinion that the act was unconstitutional.

We see it stated in several of our exchange papers of late, that the legislature of New Jersey has passed an act granting to persons claimed as fugitive slaves, the right of trial by jury. We hope this is a fact, but as no particulars have yet been detailed, so far as we have had any opportunity of knowing, we are not prepared to vouch for its truth. The first notice we had of it was, as copied from Poulson's Daily Advertiser. Cannot our friend Lundy inform us more fully concerning it?

Youth's Magazine—New Series.

The first No. of this interesting work has been put into our hands. It is executed, inside and out, with the taste and neatness that distinguish our Cincinnati pamphlets and periodicals. The price is 25¢ a year. A No. is to be issued every other week. The editor is Mr. Orlando Chester, who, if we are to judge from this specimen, promises to be highly useful in the important department to which this publication belongs. The selections are good—not trite nor common-places. We have room only to particularize two—the Last Bell and Blind Little Lucy. [Query, would not Little Blind Lucy have been better?] The advice to punctuality and promptness and moderation is well impressed by the first—they might have been a little better guarded—so that they should not be mistaken for impertinence and forwardness. The man that can read Blind Little Lucy, without feeling his heart mounting into his throat as if it was about to choke him, and his eyes filling with tears; has no children, and never expects to have any—in fine, he may be pronounced as fit only for treason, stratagem and spoils. This little story is worth to one who loves children as we do, the cost of a whole volume.

Anti-Slavery Intelligence.

If our anti-slavery news continues to increase as it has for the last two months, our paper will suffice only to take notes of passing events connected with the advance of the cause of liberty.

Henry B. Stanton addressed a Committee of the Legislature of Massachusetts in behalf of petitioners to that body, praying that it would remonstrate against the practical denial of the right of petition in the H. of Representatives in Congress, and also against the continuance of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. The Committee reported in conformity to the prayer of the petitioners—the result is stated in another paragraph of this paper. Massachusetts and Vermont are determined yet to be free. Will Ohio "go with the South?"

Mr. Stanton's remarks are in a course of publication in the Emancipator. We commend them to the perusal of all, especially to the free state advocates of slavery.

Something New.

One of our small editors in Ohio, in his valedictory, on retiring from his charge, gives us the following new ideas:

"Modern abolitionism is neither more nor less than another scheme for self-aggrandizement. It is really a pity that many a good man participates in this clerical fraud, who does not understand it.—The modern abolitionists are, with very few exceptions, Church and State men, and, of course, the very last men on God's earth who ever yet had or ever will have mercy on any body." "I would like to say more but want of room compels me to halt."

The North has nothing to do with Slavery in the South.

Let every citizen of the free states read the following account.—let him bring in array before him the enormities perpetrated among us during the last two or three years, to prevent even an examination of the evils of slavery—let him then, ask himself, "have I no concern with slavery in the South? Have I no interest in an institution that thus magnetizes and embodies the lawless and vile in our midst, and instigates them to the demolition of every safeguard erected by the wisdom and patriotism of our fathers, to secure liberty to us, to our children and to our countrymen?" The citizen of the free states who can, at this day, intelligently declare, that he has "nothing to do" with Southern slavery, must either be a paid traitor to the cause of his country and of liberty, ready to fasten the chains of the slave on his neighbor; or a poor spiritless scoundrel, who would himself wear them, and be proud of the adornment.

The narrative below is from an eye-witness, who requests that his name may be withheld from the public lest he may be made an object of mobocratic vengeance. The truth of every statement may be fully relied on. Why will not our city papers and the public journals of our country generally, republish such accounts as we are called on to record, so that the people may know, with what violence the land is filled? Is it that they too, almost without exception, cover before the negro-whipper, or else, are they content to sell what is left us of liberty, that they themselves may share in his unrighteous gain, or become partakers of his corrupting pleasures, his vices, his voluptuousness? Are such, proper watchmen on the tower of our liberty?—Eds. Phil.

On Sunday, the 12th of March, a gentleman from Granville, Mr. White, who was in this place [Hartford, Licking County,] on a visit, was invited to speak on the Anti-Slavery subject; he accordingly did, and with but little interruption. A meeting was then appointed for Tuesday morning for him to speak again on the same subject; but early on Monday morning it was ascertained, that the country had been scoured for some distance around during the afternoon of the Sabbath and Sabbath-night, to call in the rabble to break up the meeting.

The Anti-Slavery Society, which was convened on Monday morning, considering the prospects of disturbance, concluded to anticipate the appointment, and hear the lecture that morning. The lecture was accordingly delivered at a private house, and the society concluded not to meet the next day.

On Tuesday morning early, a great number of men and boys, from 300 to 400 in number came trooping into town, armed with rifles, pistols, dirks and clubs. When the hour for the lecture arrived, and it was known there would be none, their fury seemed to know no bounds; somewhere between fifty and a hundred proceeded to where Mr. White had lodged over-night on his way home, about a mile from town, and with their arms, entered the premises and found him with no other person about the premises but the lady of the house. They set upon him with dirks, &c., and told him that he must die; but he fended off their thrusts and escaped from the most blood-thirsty of them, by seeking refuge among such of the company as appeared less fierce. They protected him from their weapons. They then searched him and found him unarmed; they dragged him from the premises across the fences and through the mud to town, whooping and shouting all the way. He was somewhat bruised by the rough handling he received. When they arrived in town, he was put under guard in the bar-room of the tavern for three or four hours. In the meantime, a wooden horse or rail, was prepared at the shop of a New Light deacon, and some blacking mixed at the same place, with which to black him. However, by this time the hearts of some of them began to relent; and when he was brought out to be mounted, some exclaimed "by G—d, deacon, this is too bad;" "no, it aint," he replied, "it is just right." They carried him across the public square and back, but did not black him.

In the meantime, a man, not a member of any society, came into town, and being suspected of reading the Declaration of Independence, they fell upon him and beat him so cruelly, that he was confined for some days. Also, another young gentleman who had been teaching school in this place, from Granville, was cruelly beaten and his coat torn entirely off, and himself put under guard for two or three hours, though his bruises required medical aid. Another very peaceable citizen, who was passing through town with his wife, was taken from her and put into the same prison, and a justice of the peace, who in a former riot had had the firmness to issue a warrant, and had thus become obnoxious, made his escape from the town, a reward being offered for his scalp. Other inhabitants had to escape to the woods, or keep themselves close, while their dwellings were pelted, windows broken, and their lives threatened.

Abolition was a mere pretext for outrage and violence. Every quiet citizen who would not join the rioters was considered a fit subject for their attacks. Even women were not suffered to pass without insults and threats. The above is a mere sample of the disorders that prevailed. These scenes had similar ones occupied the whole day and a part of the night, and the next day was far from being a quiet one—the ringleaders were prowling about, boasting of their exploits and bidding defiance to the officers of justice, and swearing vengeance against any magistrate who should dare to issue a warrant for their arrest. They appear determined, says our correspondent, not to be taken, nor as yet have any been apprehended. I know not what will be the issue—all law is prostrated, and all order is abolished, and up to this date, mobocracy is triumphant; not one of the rioters has been taken into custody. They are instigated and upheld by a few persons of some standing—not less than three acting deacons and one magistrate, and several ex-magistrates were actively engaged.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Opposition in Pennsylvania.

Extract of a letter from a friend in Pennsylvania, dated March 21, 1837.

"The opposition to our cause in this region and throughout this State, is becoming more violent and systematic. You doubtless have perceived that they are to hold a State Convention at Harrisburg in May next. That Convention will be large, influential and virulent. It will embody the bitterest material in the State against us—composed of colonizers and Van Burenites. You are aware that our Governor (Ritner) expressed some anti-slavery sentiments in his last Message, and his political opponents are now using the anti-abolition excitement to crush his administration. This is one influential cause why the Convention will be large. The officers of the State administration see that this Convention may be instrumental in subverting their political purposes, and they are industrious in getting up 'indignation' meetings, under the specious plea of preserving the 'Integrity of the Union,'—and are rallying their presses and blowing the fire with their whole force, ostensibly to blow up Abolition, but really to blow up Ritner and Anti-masonry.

We were sitting down with some complacency under the impression that the day of our fierce trials were mostly gone by, and that persecution and mobism was on the wane, but the signs of the times would seem to indicate that we have yet other and fiercer struggles to encounter. I would not be at all surprised, if our enemies succeed in acquiring the political power in this and adjoining States with their present feelings, that there will be an attempt to gag us and put us down by legislation. Van Buren's inaugural sounds the onset, and his trained bands will not be slow to obey the summons.

Let us then be firm and fearless—prudent, but above all, prayerful. There is one mightier than they, and if He is for us, we need not care who is against us.

The friends here are firm as a rock, and increase steadily though not rapidly, amidst all the slanders and persecutions of those arrayed against us.

We had a powerful encounter with the advocates of Colonization and Slavery in this place a fortnight since. A five days' debate before large audiences, covering the whole ground in controversy. Our opponents took Hodge's positions—and attempted to prove slavery right in the abstract from God's word, and whined over what they called its abuses, but the pro-slavery cloven foot was constantly showing itself. With all their talents and preparation, we believe they were discomfited. We made dozens of proselytes, many of them valuable, without losing a man.

Our opponents were a judge, two lawyers, and three Professors of our college; a better prepared and qualified set of debators could not have been selected in all this region. We met them as David did Goliath, with our pebble and our sling, and have abundant cause to be

satisfied with the issue. There is a Theological Seminary in this county, conducted by what we call Seceders. A friend who has good opportunities to know, says we have (with one exception) made clean work in that institution.

But as we advance in the good work, so also does the bitterness of the opposition increase. They circulate vile slanders, coin lies for effect, misrepresent and garble the truth—and strive and struggle as if they were convinced, that unless they succeed in arresting our work now, they must yield. Is there not cause for encouragement in the exhibition of this very desperation?

Without doubt there is. Let us then contend valiantly for the truth. Gird on our armor afresh,—and, with the blessing of God, we will prevail."

The following letter from Mr. Birney, during his absence recently from the city, was unintentionally omitted. The information it contains is still of sufficient interest to warrant its insertion.

West Milton, Miami County, 2
March 6, 1837.

DEAR SIR:

I reached Xenia in the stage-coach, on Monday last, four hours after I left Cincinnati, on Monday last, I had full compensation for the fatigue and exposures of the preceding night in the warm and cordial reception I met with from our Xenia friends. On Wednesday the Green County A. S. Society, held a meeting at Massie's Creek Church, six miles from Xenia. Notwithstanding it was a cold and "chilly" day, and the ground partially covered with snow and the roads deep, the attendance both male and female was good. The exercises were commenced about half past 12 o'clock, and although the addresses of brother A. T. Rankin, (whom I found at Xenia,) and myself occupied between three and four hours, we were most patiently and respectfully listened to during the whole of them.

An appointment had been made for me to lecture at Caesar's creek meeting-house on the next day. Thither I went at the time appointed, and lectured to an audience not so large as that of the preceding day. However, the attendance was good under all the circumstances. It is probable, it would have been much better both times if the ministers of the churches had been present. Neither of them came to hear me; although it may be, they were prevented from attending by other causes than a disinclination to hear anything on the abolition question. These were upwards of twenty members added to the Green Co. Society at the two meetings. I doubt not, judging from the piety and intelligence that I am informed, are to be found in Green county generally, the cause of Human liberty will have free course within its limits.

On Friday I came on to Dayton on horseback. The court is to sit in that place next Monday. From all I could hear, it is uncertain whether there will be any attempt to punish the rioters who have in two separate instances trampled openly, and (in one of them) in broad day-light, on the most sacred rights of their fellow-citizens, even proceeding to the assault and the violent battery of those who had the temerity to claim and use them. Outbreaks of the disorder may occur in the best regulated communities, without detriment to the character of the people generally,—but, when they pass unnoticed and unpunished, the people who could, but who do not, put the law in force to arrest them in future, must be content to bear the disgrace they always bring.

I came to this place (West Milton) on Saturday evening, intending to remain here till Monday morning. As soon as it was known that I was in town, it was proposed that I should lecture on the next (Sunday) evening. The Epis. Methodist church—the same I occupied when here in October, was offered in the most friendly manner. After the morning service, the minister gave notice of the intended lecture, and that it was proposed to form an A. S. Society. In the evening I lectured to almost as many as could conveniently get into the meeting-house. After I had done, it was proposed by Mr. Benton, postmaster of the village, and a gentleman of great respectability and intelligence, that the meeting should form an A. S. Society. A Constitution was accordingly submitted, and thirty names obtained. They will have a meeting in a few days to elect their officers. The people here are generally opposed to all mobocracy, and speak in terms of decided reprobation of the late disgraceful outrage on Mr. Rankin at Dayton. The meeting last night was not interrupted by the slightest symptom of disturbance. I expect on my return, to take this on my way, when I shall be able properly to know the names of the officers, &c., of the new Society. The name is The Milton A. S. Society, auxiliary to the Ohio A. S. Society.

Yours, truly,

JAMES G. BIRNEY.

Milton Anti-Slavery Society.

Auxiliary to the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society.
We, the undersigned, believing, 1st, That God made of one blood all men, and that they are created equal, and have, unless when they commit crime, a right to liberty and to the pursuit of happiness, that cannot without the grossest wrong be taken from them:

2d, That slavery as it exists in our country, is upheld by increasing wrong—that whilst it renders degraded and unhappy its helpless victims, it fails not to corrupt the free among whom it prevails, promoting licentiousness, ill-governed, cruelty, pride, and habits of thought and action entirely inconsistent with republican simplicity and equality, and regardless of human rights everywhere.

3d, That the defence set up for slavery on the ground that the Scriptures authorize it, by those interested in its continuance in the South, and their abettors in the North, has a tendency to incorporate in the system of religion taught in these Scriptures, the most revolting tyranny that now defaces the world: 4th, That the denial by slave-holders and their advocates, of the truth of the foundation-principle of all republican governments, that all men are created equal, the inroads which have been made upon our natural and constitutional rights for the purpose of upholding slavery, the late bold and insolent denial of the right to petition our national legislature for the redress of grievances; the prostration of the press, the denial of the right to speak and discuss; the open and repeated abuse of the persons of those who know and who have the boldness to reveal to their fellow citizens the evils of this pernicious system.

5th, Believing these things, and in fine that every precious right which our government was intended in its origin to secure to us, the right of conscience, the right of freemen, are all in danger of being surrendered up, in order that slavery may be perpetual and this system of wrong perpetuated: We, whose names are undersigned, do hereby unite ourselves into a Society, to be called The Milton Anti-Slavery Society.

[A Constitution was then adopted, which we omit, as it is like the ordinary anti-slavery constitutions.—E.D.S. PRIN.]

A meeting of the society was held on the 23d of March, when the following officers were chosen: O.

Benton, President; Samuel Kelly, Vice President; Henry Davis, Secretary; Noah Hanks, Treasurer.

Executive Committee—Seth Armitage, John P. Greer, Philip Cloninger, Asahel Low and Burrill Pickering.

The following resolutions were then unanimously agreed to.

Resolved, That in associating together, we avow it as our object to bring about the emancipation of slaves by peaceful means alone, and by endeavors to effect a salutary change in public sentiment.

Resolved, That it should be our first object to impress on the minds of the people and of our members of Congress, that the right to petition Congress, and the right to have our petitions read and considered is deemed sacred and inviolable.

Resolved, That Congress in refusing to hear and consider our petitions heretofore, have committed great injustice.

Resolved, That we consider the traffic in human flesh in the District of Columbia, as a stain upon our national character, and that no pacific means should be left untried to effect its abolition.

Resolved, That as female influence is a powerful aid in any cause, we invoke its aid in the glorious cause of universal emancipation.

Testimony from the South.

Extract of a Letter from a distinguished gentleman in the South to the Senior Editor.

"I am more and more pleased with the style of your paper. I do not notice now any thing that could, in my opinion, be amended in it." * * *

"I am glad the free states are coming more and more into the anti-slavery sentiments. You have a vast deal yet to do in Ohio, before correct feelings pervade the mass. The decisions of your courts, the Acts of your Legislature, and the conduct of your mobs, are all worthy the hirelings of slave-holders. No wonder there was a mob in Dayton, when there are so many of the free there, who, for a paltry sum make a business of waylaying the fugitive from oppression and sending him back to a vindictive master." [How long will it be, before the "hirelings of slave-holders" high and low, will learn how utterly despicable they are in the eyes of their employers.—E.D.S. Phil.]

The Friends—Anti-Slavery.

Green Plain, 3d mo., 14th, 1837.
Near South Charleston, Clarke co., O.

BELoved BROTHER:

I believe it is under the influence of that love which binds together the children of our Heavenly parent that I am induced at this time to address thee on a subject connected with the holy work which thou art endeavoring to advance. I did not attend the first anniversary of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, (perhaps thou mayst recollect seeing me at the time of the Convention at Putnam) nevertheless I feel a deep and abiding interest in the progress of the principle of righteousness, accompanied by prayerful aspirations for our preservation and reliance for direction and assistance from "the Wonderful Counselor;" and as our minds become thus centered, and our feet established upon Christ the Rock of ages, we shall find, I have no doubt that our spiritual relationship with each other depends upon our individual connection with the Omnipotent Head; for he hath enjoined—"little children keep yourselves in the love of God." As we dwell in this love, human fear will be cast out, and as I feel it to be on the present occasion my beloved brother, apprehending it right for me to refer to some of the proceedings of the late Anniversary, and to furnish thee with a brief narration of the trials some of us have had to encounter.

The "Address to the Churches," by our esteemed coadjutor, J. Rankin, contains some few sentiments which the society of Friends cannot conscientiously subscribe to. Thou knowest Anti-Slavery Societies are composed of members of many different religious denominations, and I think there should be a guarded care to avoid wounding the consciences of any; for if sentiments on doctrinal subjects are published, all are accountable for them; thou also knowest religious societies are divided in sentiment on the abolition question, and many hard sayings are uttered against those who plead the cause of the suffering and the dumb;—and although the Society of Friends in their Discipline seriously recommend "every individual deeply to consider his own particular share in this testimony and be animated to consider that the longer the opposition remains, the greater is the necessity on the side of righteousness and benevolence, for our steady perseverance in pleading their cause. Believing them free, as we do; that a just and dreadful retribution awaits the unrepenting and obdurate oppressor at the awful tribunal, when sophistry will not prevail to exculpate—let us seek for and cherish that disposition of mind which can pray for these enemies of humanity and fervently breathe for their restoration to soundness of judgement and purity of principle"—yet it is lamentable that so many of us are found sleeping when the watch should be maintained; this lukewarm, temporising spirit having found its way among us—a disposition to stand "all the day idle." Some of us have discovered with painful sensations that those who uncompromisingly maintain first principles, are looked upon with a jealous eye by others and charged with trampling upon other Christian testimonies, in order to advance the one under consideration. It is said by those objectors, if you associate with others, they will impose their peculiar religious opinions upon you, and you being in the minority must submit, and hence, ministers, elders, and members of the society of Friends are necessary in bringing reproach on the body. Now permit me to cite an instance: Two of our ministers, Maurice Place and Elizabeth L. Horton attended at Granville and their names were incorporated with the list of Delegates names, (although they only attended as spectators,) I have no doubt this was designed as an act of courtesy to them. Some time after the proceedings of the anniversary were received in this neighborhood and this Address to the churches was found to contain sentiments which Friends could not subscribe to, (the objectionable features I will hereafter point out.) This circumstance was made a pretext for commencing an attack against one of the persons above alluded to, proposing to displace him from the station of a minister—many of us were thus introduced into much suffering and had our friends really been Delegates and answerable for the objectionable sentiments we should have been involved in a very serious difficulty.

The address contains this sentiment (or words to this effect,) "the sacred scriptures are the Word of God, and the only inf.ible rule of faith and practice." Now I have no doubt, but that this sentiment is most sincerely believed by brother Rankin and many other good men, and thou mayst at first glance, be surprised that we should not subscribe to it. We do esteem the scriptures of Truth as the external means of preserving and conveying to us, an account of the things most surely to be believed concerning the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ in the flesh, and the fulfilling of the promises relating thereto, and we entertain a reverent esteem for the doctrine and precepts of the Christian religion contained

therein, inducing us to believe that the same experience of the work of sanctification, through the operation of the Spirit of God, to which the Scriptures abundantly bear testimony, is to be witnessed by believers in all generations, as well as by those in the first ages of Christianity. They serve the Christian traveller for the convenience of the understanding, but like a map of a distant place we are bound for, notwithstanding all our information about it, unless we be found encountering the difficulties of the way we may never arrive at the state described."

John declares, "In the beginning was the Word; the word was with God, and the word was God." But what saith it? the word is nigh thee even in thy mouth and in thy heart, that is the word of faith which we preach: Rom. x. chap. 8 v. For the word of God is quick and powerful and sharper than any two edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart." Hebrews iv. chap. 12 v. Hence, we find that holy men of old spake of this word but we dare not receive their narration as the word itself, although they have borne a powerful convincing testimony that they wrote under the influence of Divine revelation, having witnessed the divine anointing, their minds being illuminated by the true Light of Christ, the wisdom and power of God, here was a vital union of Spirit attained by attention to the Principle of Truth itself." This is a fundamental principle of our profession that it is under the immediate teaching and influence of the Holy Spirit, that acceptable worship is performed and Gospel ministry supplied; that this pure and powerful influence, in vessels sanctified and prepared by the Divine Hand, is the essential qualification for that work,—"Discipline of Friends." These are among our reasons for not calling the Holy Scriptures "the Word of God;" as they themselves do only bear testimony of that Power which we apprehend is more truly and emphatically styled "the word of God." Again, the address says, "It is often said, we ought to leave Slavery just where Christ and his apostles left it; and where was that? just where the Old Testament Scriptures left it, under the sentence of death. "He that stealeth a man or selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." Now I do not so understand the Great Minister of the new Covenant: "For behold the day cometh," saith the Lord, "when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel," &c., &c., and it appears from Christ's memorable sermon on the mount, that peace on earth and good will to men was forcibly inculcated—that that dispensation which justified "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" should not be practised as in old times, but that the law of retaliation suited to the state of those to whom it was given, was, at the advent of our Great and Holy Lawgiver to give place" to the far more glorious gospel dispensation founded on Love and Mercy, inculcating by precept and example the patient bearing of injuries and provocations. Mark the impressive language, "I say unto you, resist not evil, &c." And I have no doubt as we come understand the Messiah's peaceful reign in us we shall find that we can "learn war no more." "For the law made nothing perfect but the bringing in of a better hope did," Heb. vii. chap. 19th v. "For if the first covenant had been faultless, there should no place have been found for the second," Heb. viii. chap. 7th v. "For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth."

I have written freely, and I trust that hereafter, there may be a guarded care in all the publications of the society, to avoid disseminating in a society-capacity sentiments upon which some of us conscientiously differ, being irrelevant to the cause for which we are professedly assembled to aid in advancing. On the broad basis of Christian philanthropy and benevolence we might meet and cordially unite our efforts in the cause of suffering humanity. Doubtless the address might have been so written that all might have been comforted and all edified; there might have been a reference to the Holy Scriptures without terming them the Word of God; the Mosaic Law might have been adverted to, without thus blending the old and new Covenants together.

Should difficulties of this kind occur hereafter, there is no doubt but it will prevent many Friends from actively co-operating with Anti-Slavery Societies. I would that abolitionists might become more imbued with the pacific and non-resisting temper and conduct becoming the professed followers of Him who when reviled, reviled not again, but as a Lamb is dumb before her shearers, so he opened not his mouth."

I cherish a hope that brotherly love and condescension may characterize all our movements, and should I not be with you in body at the coming anniversary, be assured that my spirit will commingle with yours in supplicating the Father of Spirits, that the angel of His presence may be around about you, that he may keep you as in the hollow of His Hand—that in his own way and time consistent with the Divine will and mind every fetter may be loosed, and every yoke broken; that with self-abasement we may give utterance to the exclamation "not unto us, but unto thy name, Oh Lord, be all the glory."

With desires for thy onward course in the work of mercy and philanthropy, and thy preservation in true humility, I subscribe myself thy sympathizing brother in the cause of the poor and perishing slave.

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE.

Scripture and Slavery.

Lyne, Haven, Co, Ohio, 7
March, 2, 1837.

JAMES G. BIRNEY,

Dear Brother,—I sympathize deeply with you in the arduous and interesting work in which you are engaged with your associates, and feel disposed according to my opportunities, to lend my feeble efforts to the same cause. Wishing recently to direct the attention of my people to the subject of Slavery, I endeavored to do it by drawing out from the Scriptures some passages which are expressive of God's feelings on the subject. If you should consider these worthy of notice, they are at your disposal.

"Thou shalt not vex a stranger, nor oppress him, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. "Ye shall not afflict any widow, or fatherless child. If thou afflict them in any wise, and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their cry, and my wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with a sword, and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless." Ex. 22: 21, 24. This law which is a part of the civil and domestic code which God gave to his people Israel, is undoubtedly intended as a general injunction against oppression. For this end he has selected the most helpless classes of persons and enforced the interdiction specially for their protection. The specifications are the stranger, the widow, and the fatherless child. These are the most liable to be oppressed. In view of these, therefore, God expressed to his people his feelings on the subject of oppression as exhibited in this part of their law. He has left no ambiguity or doubt upon the subject. He plainly disapproves other oppressions,

God hears the cry of the oppressed. The passage already cited is plain. "If thou afflict them in any wise, and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their cry." Also, "Thou wilt cause thine ear to hear; to judge the fatherless and the oppressed; that the man of the earth may no more oppress;" Ps. 10: 17-18. The cry here spoken of which God hears, is the groaning of those that are oppressed. Not simply the direct and intelligent and regular worded prayer for deliverance. God hears their cries, their groanings, by reason of their bondage. Thus he heard the groans of his people in Egypt, when they knew not even the name of the God of their fathers; And the children of Israel sighed by reason of their bondage, and they cried, and their cry came up unto God by reason of their bondage. The groans and tears of the oppressed cry unto God like the blood of Abel. He hears and he will regard them.

God is the friend of the oppressed. "A father of the fatherless and a judge of the widows is God in his holy habitation." Ps. 68: 5. "The Lord executeth judgment for all that are oppressed." 103: 6. "For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy now will I arise saith the Lord." 12: 5. Ser. also 10: 14, 12: 4, 12. Prov. 22: 23, and 23: 11. It is most manifest from these passages that God intends to represent himself as taking part with the oppressed, against the oppressor. He is the avenger of those that are wronged. He indeed forbids them to take vengeance, but assigns this as a reason, "vengeance is mine I will repay."

God abhors the oppressors and will punish them. "This is the portion of a wicked man with God; and the heritage of oppressors which they shall receive of the Almighty. If his children be multiplied it is for the sword, and his offspring shall not be satisfied with bread." Job, 27: 13, 14. In enumerating the sins of Israel committed in Jerusalem, God says by the prophet Ezekiel,—"In the midst of them have they dealt by oppression with the stranger; in this have they vexed the fatherless and the widow"—and in view of these and other abominations he says, "Behold therefore I have smitten my hand at thy dishonest gain which thou hast made, and at thy blood which has been in the midst of thee. Can thine heart endure, or can thine hands be strong in the days that I shall deal with thee?" Ez. 22: 7, 13, 14. Among a list of enormities denounced publicly and solemnly with curses we find the following: "Cursed be he that proveth the judgment of the stranger, fatherless, and widow, and all the people shall say, Amen: Deut. 27: 19.

God will not hear the prayer of oppressors. While he hears the sighs and groans of the oppressed, even when they are ignorant of him, he regards their cries, yet the most regular and orderly observer of prescribed forms of worship, prayer and fasting, by oppressors is an abomination. "Your new moons and your appointed feasts (my soul hateth); they are a trouble unto me, I am weary to hear them: And when ye spread forth your hands I will hide mine eyes from you; yea when ye make many prayers I will not hear; your hands are full of blood. Wash you, make you clean. Put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes. Cease to do evil; learn to do well. Seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow. Come now &c. Isa. 1: 14, 18. Micah speaking of certain persons says, "Then shall they cry unto the Lord, lest he will not hear them: he will even hide his face from them at that time; as they have behaved themselves ill in their doings," Micah 3: 4. But who were those whom God thus spurned away? They were oppressors: those who cruelly treated such as they had in their power. God had them in his power, and despised their cry. Ser. also Isa. 58: 3-7.

Now these sentiments are not local or limited. If we have here found what God's feelings were on the subject of oppression during the days of Moses and the Prophets, we here find at the same time what his feelings are now on the subject of oppression. He is in one mind: His language still is, "I will be a swift witness against the sorcerers, and against the adulterers, and against the false swearers, and against those that oppress the hireling in his wages, the widow and the fatherless, and that turn aside the stranger from his rights; and fear not me, saith the Lord of hosts. For I am the Lord, I change not; therefore ye sons of Jacob are not consumed, Mat. 3: 5, 6.

How do these sentiments look towards slavery? God's injunctions and threatenings are specific in respect to the stranger, the widow, the fatherless, and the oppressed. How could the slave population, or even the colored population of our land, bond and free, be more correctly described? Although native born Americans for generations yet they are regarded as strangers; called Africans still, and considered as having a residence here only by the permission, or for the convenience of the white population. Neither is the specification of widows less applicable. What is every mother in slavery but a widow? He who has begotten her child is not to her a husband, a companion, a protector; neither may he exercise towards her offspring the authority of a father and guide. She and her children are dependent on the rule of a master for all of protection, instruction and support which they shall receive; and he may be a kind master or he may be a tyrant. The truth is all the colored population of our land fall into the classes which God has specified as his peculiar care,—the poor and the oppressed, the widow and the orphan. Jehovah is their God, their Judge, their Redeemer (or their next kin) and he will doubtless perform their Redeemer's part. He will avenge their wrongs upon their oppressor, unless they do unto their servants that which is just and equal.

How do oppressive laws and oppressive governments look in the light of this subject? God is against all oppression. What is his relation then to such laws as rob the stranger of his rights? He is against them. What is his relation to those individual Christians, or Christian churches, which practice or encourage oppression? He is against them.

If God will not hear oppressors when they cry, is not the extreme prevalence of oppression, in nearly all branches of the church of Christ in our land, a great hindering cause in the way of effectual prayer? "Seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow. Come now and let us reason together saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow: though they be red like crimson, they shall be like wool. If ye are willing and obedient ye shall eat the good of the land, but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." Isa. 1: 17-20. X.

RECEIPTS.—Rev. John Rankin per A. T. Rankin (pledge) \$10 00.
Abraham Pettijohn, donation 20 00.
LETTERS, received since March 25.—E. S. Pettijohn \$2; F. Julius Semoyne \$22; Jas. Bay \$2; Ward & Smith; Jos. E. Martin \$3; Jos. Tompkinson; S. Howland \$5; B. Stanton \$2; F. J. Townsend; H. Kimball; J. B. Whedon \$2; J. Q. Adams \$2; B. Stanton \$2; Wm. Robinson; Maria A. Sturges; Geo. A. Lyon \$10; M. H. Urguhart \$3; S. Hall \$10.
POST MASTERS.—N. Berwick; Fall River; Bertrand; Dillon; Lockport; Charlestown.

COLORED PEOPLE.

African Mind.

BY ALEXANDER EVERETT.

The example of Hayti has been, upon the whole, of a nature to encourage the friends of humanity, with regard to the capacity of the black race, for self-government and the arts and habits of civilized life. There are no facts, so far at least as I am acquainted with the subject, which authorize the conclusion, that any one of the several varieties of our race, is either intellectually or morally inferior or superior to the rest; and there are certainly enough that attest the contrary. Each great division of the species has had in its turn, the advantage in civilization, that is, in industry, wealth, and knowledge, and the power they confer. And during this period of conscious triumph, each has doubtless been inclined to regard itself as a favored race, endowed by nature and Providence with an essential superiority over all the others. But, on reviewing the course of history, we find this accidental difference disappearing after awhile, and the sceptre of civilization passing from the hands of the supposed superior race, into those of some other before inferior, which claims in its turn, for awhile, a similar distinction. As respects the immediate question, it would seem, from even a slight examination, that the blacks (whether of African or Asiatic origin) have not only a fair right to be considered as naturally equal to men of any other color, but are even not without some plausible pretensions to a claim of superiority. At the present day, they are doubtless, as far as we have any knowledge of them, much inferior to the whites, and have been so for several centuries. But at more than one preceding period, they have been for a length of time, at the head of civilization and political power, and must be regarded as the real authors of most of the arts and sciences which give us at present the advantage over them. While Greece and Rome were yet barbarous, we find the light of learning and improvement emanating from this, by supposition, degraded and accursed continent of Africa, out of the very midst of this woolly-haired, flat-nosed, thick-lipped, coal-black race, which some persons are tempted to station, at a pretty low intermediate point between men and monkeys. It is to Egypt, if to any nation, that we must look as the real *antiqua mater* of the ancient and modern refinement of Europe. The colonies that civilized Greece, the founders of Argos, Athens, Delphi, &c. came from Egypt, and for centuries afterwards, their descendants constantly returned to Egypt as the source and centre of civilization. There it was, that the generous and stirring spirits of those days, Pythagoras, Homer, Solon, Heroditus, Plato and the rest, made their noble journeys of intellectual and moral discovery, as ours now make them in England, France, Germany and Italy.

The great lawgiver of the Jews was prepared for his divine mission, by a course of instruction in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. But Egypt, as we know from Herodotus, who travelled there, was peopled at that time by a black race, with woolly hair; and the historian adds, in the same passage, that these physical qualities were also proper to so many nations, that they hardly formed a distinction. It appears, in fact, that the whole south of Asia, and North of Africa were then possessed by a number of powerful, polished, and civilized communities of kindred origin, differing among themselves in some parts of their outward conformation, but all black. Ethiopia, a country of which the history is almost entirely shrouded in the night of ages, and of which we know little or nothing, except that it must have been in its day, a seat of high civilization and great power—probably the fountain of the improvement of Egypt and Western Asia, was inhabited by blacks. It then comprehended the country on both sides of the Red Sea, whence the Ethiopians are said, by Homer, to be divided into two parts. The great Assyrian empires of Babylon and Nineveh, hardly less illustrious than Egypt, in arts and arms, were founded by Ethiopian colonies, and peopled by blacks. Hence it was doubtful at a time when then historical traditions of these countries had become a little obscure, whether the famous black Prince Memnon, who served among the auxiliaries on the side of Troy at the siege of that city by the Greeks, was a native of Babylon, or Ethiopia proper, and he was claimed as a citizen in both these places. Strabo tells us that the whole of Assyria south of Mount Taurus (including, besides Babylon and Nineveh—Phœnicia, Tyre and all Arabia,) was inhabited by blacks; but there seems to have been some mixture of whites among them, for the Jews fall within this region, and the Arabs of the present day, although dark, can hardly be called black.

These, like the Medes and Persians, who were also white were probably colonies of the white Syrians, described by the same author, as dwelling beyond Mount Taurus, which had emigrated to the South. But Palestine or Canaan, before its conquest by the Jews, is represented in Scripture as well as other histories, as peopled by blacks; and hence it follows, that Tyre and her colony Carthage, the most industrious, wealthy, and polished states of their time were of this color. In these swart regions, were first promulgated the three religions which have exercised the strongest influence on the fortunes of the world, two of which we receive as divine revelations; and as far as human agency was concerned in it, we must look to Egypt as the original foundation of our faith, which, though developed and completed in the New Testament reposes on the basis of the Old.

This consideration alone, should suffice with christians, to rescue the black race and the continent they inhabit, from any suspicion of inferiority. It appears, in short that this race, from the period immediately following the deluge down to the conquest of Assyria and Egypt by the Persians, and the fall of Carthage, enjoyed a decided preponderance throughout the whole western world. It is true that after this leading the march of civilization for about 2000 years in succession, maturing the profound and solid wisdom of Egypt, founding the splendid and transitory fabric of Greek refinement, and assisting in the first communication of our holy faith; after inventing and carrying to a high degree of perfection, almost all the arts and sciences of which we are now so proud; after covering the banks of the Ganges, the Euphrates and the Nile, with miracles of power and skill which not only have never been surpassed or equalled, but of which at present we can hardly conceive the possibility; after modelling their civil and political institutions with such a masterly insight into human nature as to fix, through them, probably for ever, the stamp of their peculiar genius on the social organization of the world; after effecting all this, it is true they began to fall before the rising greatness of their own accomplished, and vigorous pupils, and have been declining ever since, until at last they sunk below the level of the white, where they have remained, as far as we have any knowledge of their condition, for several centuries past. This inferiority is likely enough to continue, and it is perhaps as improbable (though not more so) that the black race will ever revive the wonders of Egypt and Babylon, as that Greece will rear Examiondas again, or the bees of Hymittus clutse in our time on the infant lips of another Plato. Nations and races, like individuals, have their day and seldom have a second. The blacks had a long and glorious one; and after what they have been

and done, it argues not so much a mistaken theory, as sheer ignorance of the most notorious historical facts, to pretend that they are naturally inferior to the whites. It would seem indeed, as I have hinted before, that if any race have a right to claim a sort of pre-eminence over others, on the fair and honorable ground of talents displayed and benefits conferred, it is precisely this very one which we take upon us, in the pride of a temporary superiority, to stamp with the brand of essential degradation. It is hardly necessary to add, that while the blacks were the leading race in civilization and political power, there was no prejudice among the whites against their color. We find, on the contrary, that the early Greeks regarded them as a superior variety of their species, not only in intellectual and moral qualities, but in outward appearance. "The Ethiopians," says Heroditus, "surpass all other men in longevity, stature and personal beauty." The high estimation in which they were held, for wisdom and virtue, is strikingly shown by the mythological fable current among the ancient Greeks, and repeatedly alluded to by Homer, which represented the Gods as going annually in a body to make a long visit to the Ethiopians. Their absence upon this excursion is the reason given by Thetis to her son Achilles, in the first book of the Iliad, for not laying his complaints at once before the highest authority. "Jupiter," she tells him, "set off yesterday, attended by all the Gods, on a journey towards the ocean, to feast with the excellent Ethiopians, and is not expected back at Olympus, till the twelfth day." This was an honor which does not appear to have been bestowed upon any other nation.

Notwithstanding the present general inferiority of the Africans, we find even now, that the high intellectual spirit that once flashed out so finely in their sunburnt climes, is not wholly quenched. Major Denham, in his late volume of travels, has presented us with several specimens of contemporary African poetry, which are hardly inferior to the sweet and lofty strains of the ancient monarch minstrel. The dirge of the Fezzaneers in honor of their chief, Boo-Kaloon, will bear a comparison with the lamentation of David over Saul and Jonathan.

An extempore love song, of which the Major has inserted a translation, unites the tenderness and purity of the Canticles, with something of the delicacy of the imagery that distinguishes the poetry of Moore. The triumphal ode of the Shiek of Eornou, written by himself upon his return from a victorious expedition against the Begharmies, is still more remarkable and may fairly be considered as poetry of the first order. If such a thing were to be produced by one of the reigning sovereigns of Europe, at the present day, we should not hear the last of it for twenty years.

Of the actual state of the negro nations that inhabit the interior of Africa, we know little or nothing, until the late travels of Major Denham, excepting that we, civilized christians, had purchased and made slaves of a considerable number of persons belonging to them, and that these persons thus kidnapped and reduced to slavery, appeared to us, who did not understand their languages, and could not of course converse with them, as a degraded and stupid race of men, incapable of writing epic poems, commanding armies, enlarging the limits of science, or superintending the government of a country.

It is needless to add, that this reasoning proved the stupidity and degradation of those who thought it satisfactory and not of the Africans.

SLAVERY.

From the Emancipator.
Man auctioned at the Capitol.

Last Wednesday, in pursuance of an advertisement in the city papers, I went to a slave auction. I had never been where "brokers in the trade of blood" carried on their shameful traffic; but here in the city of Washington, the seat of government of the United States, for the first time, I was rung by the auctioneer's bell to the mart of human flesh.

The subject was a negro boy, sold to serve for fourteen years. He was called to the stand—the auctioneer announced the sale—described the thing to be sold and pointed him out to my gaze. I looked upon him, he seemed to bear the image of his Maker, and methought he had as good a right to freedom's boon as I; there was no apparent change in his countenance, he looked wishfully at the auctioneer, as he was describing him as a boy of uncommon honesty and genius, and an excellent house servant and waiter. The boy was to be free at 28, and the buyer to give bonds not to remove him from the district of Maryland: of course the boy did not feel as though he was a laborer on a Louisiana plantation, or to be far separated from his earthly friends.

"What is offered for the boy? smart, active, honest, will make a most excellent servant. How much for the boy—excellent servant? Two hundred dollars is offered, four hundred years to serve, two hundred dollars! two hundred ten, two hundred twenty, two hundred fifty—seventy-five, two hundred seventy-five!

A tear started in the boy's eyes: he spoke not, but cast his eyes upon the floor, and seemed as though he had a soul, and who that had one, could refuse a tear?

But on the hammer went. Three hundred dollars, who will say any more than three hundred dollars? Three hundred ten, twenty-five, thirty. Three hundred and thirty. Three hundred and thirty—going—going—gone!

"There, boy, is your master, a most excellent master, come, cheer up, he will use you well."

The boy started, said nothing, but looked as though he cared about it, though a negro.

Such scenes are so frequent here, in the eyes of the legislature of the nation, that they neither heed it or take steps for its removal, and an expression of sympathy for the subject of the sale, would excite but a smile from most; though there are some who possess feelings worthy of a man, and some went to see this sale who expressed opinions, which proved that their hearts were not steeled to human woe.

Such sales are constantly taking place here, though generally the slave is sold to the traders who have their agents out at all times to gather up all that are to be sold. In cases like the above, where the slave is not to be carried away, the regular traders do not buy them because they ship their human flesh to the southern markets. Still there is danger that he who is to serve for a term of years may be carried from the District, and who will look after him when the fourteen years are expired? The amount of the bond will not probably be more than a slave for life is worth; and where will the giver of the bond be in fourteen years?

A distinguished officer of the city government, says that all that is necessary for the abolition of the slave trade is for Congress to repeal their own laws, which protect it, and the sentiment here against the slave traders will rid the District of the disgrace of being the slave mart of the nation.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 21, 1837.

Influence of Slavery upon the Morals of the Free States.

It is impossible that one half of this nation should be corrupted without in some degree corrupting the other. There are two powerful causes, constantly at work, to in-

termine the population of the slave states and the free. First the climate of the slave states renders a summer emigration desirable, and the leisure of the planters makes it practicable. During the warm season, the northern states are rambled over by a multitude of Southern gentlemen and ladies, whose manners—so elevated and refined, have a charm to bewitch our simple-hearted people, especially the "upper-class," and greatly to recommend slavery, if these travelling slaveholders have vices, they will show the best side of them. Their extravagance will be generosity; their imperiousness, good breeding; their revengefulness, honor. Transient visitors always produce a false impression, and in this case, the impression unfortunately goes to exaggerate our esteem of Southern virtues, and to throw a veil over the deformity of Southern vices.

The stream of summer visitors from the South, is a stream of slave-holding thoughts and feelings and manners flowing right into the midst of us. Can there be corruption and death in such thoughts and feelings and manners, and we not the worse for them?

Secondly, the necessary and characteristic idleness and dissipation of the South, opens a lucrative field for enterprising adventurers from the North. Slaveholders are for the most part too lazy-minded to do much hard thinking, and altogether too lazy both in mind and body, to fill those employments where thinking and working go together. Hence the rush to the South of merchants, master-mechanics, inventors, school-masters, lawyers, preachers, physicians, pedlars, &c., &c.

The general object of most of these men is, to get money. To get money they must please the slaveholders. And to please the slaveholders they must take their part against the slaves. Here is a sufficient predisposition to the contagion of a slave-holding spirit—and the spirit, with fair opportunity, soon leads to the act. The Yankee mind is fertile in excuses. It would be a service to humanity to ascertain the number of such adventurers, which the North has poured into the South for the last thirty years and how many of them have become slaveholders. Any one who will take the pains to look over the circle of his acquaintance, will be led to suspect that a large part of the head-power which plies the whip of Southern oppression, is the production of the North. These adventurers have all left friends behind them, who are more or less interested in their purses and their character. Every man who comes home enriched has a wonderful influence. He becomes an oracle. He is listened to, and looked up to, and imitated by scores who would like to run the same race. He knows too much, and has too much money to have any of his sayings doubted. Nobody else must talk of slavery, for he has lived at the South and knows all about it. Such men have been able and willing to set agoing not a few anti-abolition mobs. They in fact come home infected with the plague, and what is worse than the influence of Southerners among us, they sometimes spread the contagion among the industrious class of people.

Can these two processes go on, generation after generation, without making us of the North slaveholders in heart and morals, if not in practice?

Tender Mercies of Slavery.

Here is a fact communicated to us by one of our agents, showing what slavery was, at least in some cases, twenty-five years ago. If our agitation of the subject has only made the matter worse, what must it be now!—Ed. Eman.

The following fact is stated on the authority of Dr. Mitchell, associate judge of Indiana, Pa.—One Cummings lived, perhaps lives now, in Brook County, Va. His estate was situated just on the state line between Virginia and Pennsylvania. About twenty-three or twenty-four years ago, in the month of February, one of his slaves, a lad eleven or twelve years of age, ran away in company with another, a grown man. The lad soon lost courage, and returned; but afraid to enter the house, lay all one night under a ledge of rock beside a creek.

His feet were frozen. In the morning, some neighbors heard his groans, found and carried him to the house. He was left in the kitchen, and no medical aid provided. About the beginning of June he was turned out to die, shelterless, on a hill near at hand.

Dr. M'Keen, with whom Dr. Mitchell was studying, being in the neighborhood, which was out of his usual circuit, heard of this outrage as a secret. He went to C's house, and inquired into the matter. C., with perfect sang froid, directed him to the hill.

Dr. M'Keen, after seeing the boy, told Cummings that he had better take the axe and knock him on the head at once.

M'Keen and Mitchell thought of amputating the lad, and taking him home to their house. They called on C., and while M'Keen spoke to C., Mitchell visited the boy—this was about ten days after the poor fellow had been exposed. He found the miserable victim of the "legal relation" seated on some straw, with no other covering than an old petticoat which his mother—ah! he suffered no alone—which his mother had put over him, with the string drawn close round his neck; this garment he stretched over his limbs to keep the flies off; the flesh had sloughed away about up to the middle of each leg; the bones protruded bare; the fibula of one limb had fallen out. The boy, as he sat, endeavored to hold up the limbs so as to keep the bones from grinding into the gravel. Worms were there, alive, gnawing the quik flesh. The child evinced no resentment, blamed himself for running away, wished for death that he might arrive at a good place and suffer no more where the wicked, where Satan and slaveholding cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.

Cummings, angry at M'Keen, would not allow him to perform the operation; but, probably supposing that the boy might yet be of use, sent for Dr. Joseph Doddridge, of Charleston, now called Wellsborough, Brook county, Va. He and Dr. Mitchell amputated the boy in the kitchen; the patient was laid on some straw.

About four weeks afterwards, Dr. Mitchell saw him on his knees, before the wounds could be well healed, chopping wood.

Dr. M'Keen now resides in Washington county, Pa. He, as well as Dr. Mitchell, left Virginia in utter disgust at slavery. However, "Take heed, take heed, and whispere low!"

THE SLAVE TRADE.

From the Philadelphia Public Ledger.
The Slave Trade.

This abominable traffic, though forbidden by the laws of the United States, is now indebted to Americans for its continuance, than to any or all other people. The English papers say that there are now between seventy and eighty vessels engaged in this trade on the coast of Africa, and that they are chiefly of American construction. We have not the least doubt of this, for to escape the vigilance of British cruisers, fast sailing vessels, are required for this trade, and from the superiority of the Americans in naval architecture, our vessels generally possess this quality more eminently than any other.—Many vessels are owned by the Brazilians, and employed in the slave trade; and with scarcely an exception, they were built in the United States. They are generally built on special orders,

manued here by American seamen, and cleared out under the American flag, for Brazil. There the price is paid, the vessel is transferred, the master and crew are discharged, and the abominable traffic, for which she was constructed, commenced. Sometimes fast sailing American vessels, not built purposely for the slave trade, are sold for such purpose in Brazil, the master or supercargo having full powers to do so. Nor are these the only sources whence this infernal traffic is supplied with swift vessels. Many Americans think that smuggling, or otherwise evading or violating the laws of other countries, is neither dishonest nor disgraceful; and swift vessels are sometimes built for such commendable purposes. If this object fail, such vessels are commonly sent to "Brazil and a market," in other words sold for slave vessels.

This vile cupidity of our own people, which tramples upon law, right, conscience, every thing, for the almighty dollar, is the principal agent in sustaining this detestable traffic. Neither the Brazilians nor the inhabitants of the Spanish West India are skillful enough in naval architecture, to build suitable vessels, and without the aid of Americans, would soon be compelled to abandon the trade. The British cruisers could easily sweep away their clumsy craft from the ocean. But these cruisers are generally no match, in sailing, for American vessels built for this abominable purpose; hence it is prosecuted with very little danger. We can imagine no other mode of preventing this crying mischief, than prohibiting American citizens from selling vessels to the citizens or subjects of any nation which tolerates the slave trade. And even this would be evaded by some circuitous sale. Cannot Congress contrive some effectual mode of preventing our citizens from aiding this accursed trade?

POLITICAL.

From the Staunton Spectator, Feb. 25.

Virginia—Resolutions of the Vermont Legislature.

ABOLITION.—Mr. Bayly of A. moved that the House take up the communication of the acting Governor, presented on Saturday, inclosing certain resolutions of the Legislature of Vermont, on the subject of Abolition.—The Governor's letter and the resolutions are as follows:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Feb. 24, 1837.

To the House of Delegates:
I transmit to the House of Delegates certain resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont, and forwarded to me by the Governor of that State, declaring—1st, that neither Congress nor the State Governments have any constitutional right to abridge the free expression of opinions, or the transmission of them through the public mail; and 2dly, that Congress do possess the power to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

Viewed, as I conceive these proceedings must be, as the deliberate response of the State of Vermont, to the solemn Resolutions of the last General Assembly of Virginia, requesting of the non-slave holding States the adoption of measures "effectually to suppress Abolition Societies," and to make "penal the printing, publishing or distributing of newspapers, pamphlets or other publications, calculated to excite the slaves of the Southern States to insurrection and revolt;" declaring that Congress have no constitutional power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia," and that they "would regard any act of Congress having" such object, "as affording just cause of alarm to the slaveholding States, and bringing the Union, into imminent peril"—it will be seen, that the Resolutions from Vermont not only deny our most just and reasonable request; but, on the contrary, spread over principles and practices which we have denounced as subversive of our rights, and endangering our tranquility, the broadegis of Government protection.

A course so contrary to our just expectations, and so little in union with that spirit of fraternal concord we so sincerely desire to cherish, cannot fail to excite the painful surprise of the people of this State—alarm the fears of every friend of the Union, and engage your own most profound and anxious reflections.

WYNDHAM ROBERTSON.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, By the General Assembly of the State of Vermont—that neither Congress nor the State Governments have any constitutional right to abridge the free expression of opinions, or the transmission of them through the public mail.

Resolved, That Congress do possess the power to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

Resolved, That his excellency the Governor be requested to transmit copies of the foregoing resolutions to the Executive of each of the States, and to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

(The resolutions passed the Vermont H. of Representatives on the 15th and the Senate on the 16th of November last, and were transmitted by the Governor on the 17th of February.)

A long discussion ensued on Mr. Bayly's motion; in which Messrs. Bayly of A., Davis, Randolph, Witche, Booker, Davenport, Miller, Edmunds of H., May, Wilson of B., Moore, Hopkins and Wiley took part, when the eyes and noses having been ordered on motion of Dr. Bayly of A., the House agreed to take up the resolutions, by the following vote: Ayes 80, noes 31.

Mr. Bayly of A., then moved that the communication of the Governor and the resolutions of the State of Vermont, be referred to a Select Committee.

Mr. Bayly offered some reasons in support of this motion, when Mr. Rooker moved that the resolutions be thrown under the table.

On this motion a debate occurred, in which it was opposed by Messrs. Mallory, Moore, Bayly of A., Davis, Miller and Rives, and supported by Mr. Booker, who finally withdrew the motion.

Mr. Wiley moved to lay the subject on the table; but, after some remarks from Messrs. Tunstall, Bayly, Moore and Harrison, withdrew the motion, and on the motion of Mr. Bayly to refer the subject to a Select committee, was agreed to, and the following gentlemen were appointed said Committee: Messrs. Bayly of A., Randolph, Miller, May, Rives, Garland, Stanard, Davis, Witche, Moore, Hopkins, Mallory, Harrison, and Tunstall.

Slavery in Missouri.—A respectable Christian gentleman, of education and intelligence, now resident in Missouri, where he had enjoyed extensive opportunities of knowing the state of things, writes to his friend in New England: "Although slavery is here said to exist in its mildest form, yet the slaves are in a condition miserably abject, and a veil of impenetrable darkness broods upon their minds. It is false that even in Christian families they are treated generally, as if they were human or immortal. Then the mass of them must perish for the want of instruction and guidance, there can be no reasonable doubt. I wish I could say the prospects of the white population for heaven were essentially better." He then goes on to speak of the great want of ministers who are by any reasonable rule of judgment, to be considered competent to guide the people in the way of life.—Ed. Evan.

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A desirable Farm of 70 acres, 40 of which are in cultivation, situated 8 miles from town, in a healthy and populous region, having a new Brick House with 5 rooms, a cellar, and a porch. Also a large Frame Barn, with Sheds, Cribbs and Wagon-houses, two never failing Springs, a Creek, and an Orchard of choice grafted Fruit Trees.

A Tract of 253 acres of rich bottom land, with 170 acres in culture, situated 17 miles from town, and near to the Miami Canal. The improved part is well fenced; the rest abounding with the best kinds of timber.

A fertile Farm of 100 acres, 5 miles from town, upon a M'Adamized road, having 70 acres in culture, two Orchards, one of choice Pear, the other of grafted Apple Trees. Also a small Frame House, with 5 rooms, a large Frame Barn, a Stable, a Cider Mill and a Press. The location is calculated for a country seat.

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A desirable Country Seat, with 51 acres of Land, 1 mile from town, having 30 acres in cultivation, a new Frame House, built in cottage style, with 7 rooms, a cellar, and a porch, a large Frame Barn, a Carriage House, and other buildings. Also a Well, a Pump, several Springs, a good Garden well peiled, and a young Orchard of 73 apple, 30 peach, and 50 cherry trees. The land is rich, well fenced and watered, and situated in a healthy and good neighborhood.

A Farm of 62 acres, 9 miles from town, upon the Winston road, having 38 acres in cultivation, a small orchard, a well, a spring, a stream, a Frame Barn, and a Brick House, with 4 rooms and a cellar.

A Farm of 492 acres, situated upon the Ohio, 45 miles from town, having 200 acres in cultivation, an orchard of 100 trees, a Frame House, a Frame Barn, springs and a creek. One half of the land is rich bottom, the rest upland abounding in valuable timber.

A Farm of 112 acres, 5 miles from town, very near a M'Adamized road, with 60 acres in cultivation, a large orchard of apple and pear trees, a Frame House, a Barn, a Well, and several springs. The land is good, and the neighborhood healthy.

Eighty acres of land, 3 miles from town, having 40 acres chiefly in grass, the rest in timber. The land is fair quality, and has several building spots and excellent springs.

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